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Southeast Asia in the Midst of Struggle	
Chan-tou-thung-ti Tung-nan- ya by Chu Yu-lien, World Know- ledge Society, Peiping-Shanghai, October 1950	

On Popular International Conditions
with Illustrations

SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE MIDST OF STRUGGLE (The Struggling Southeast Asia)

Edited by Chu Yu-lien (朱育蓮)

Published by
World Knowledge Society
(Shih-chieh Chih-shih She)

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SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE MIDST OF STRUGGLE

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1950

For the purposes of this book Southeast Asia consists of India, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Indochina (Viet Nam), and Malaya on the mainland, and the Philippines, Indonesia, and Ceylon in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

The above countries have a combined area of 8,817,000 square kilometers, 18.7 percent of the land mass of Asia which supports 45 percent of the total Asiatic population.

Most of the area is in the tropical zone with a hot climate, copious rainfall, fertile soil with high agricultural production capacity, and a liberal supply of underground resources.

After the 15th Century, most of these territories fell under the colonial rule of European powers and America. The result was to plunge the masses into poverty and degradation, with their native overlords employed by the colonial powers as instruments of foreign exploitation to wrest from the masses the raw materials and natural resources to feed their insatiable appetites.

The October Revolution brought hope to all peoples under colonial rule and Comrade Stalin declared the days of colonialism were numbered.

In the colonial and semicolonial lands of Southeast Asia the breath of freedom began to stir before the second World War.

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During that war the oppressiveness of the Japanese fascist conquerers aroused the colonial peoples to rise in their own defense with whatever arms they could capture from the Japanese. After the war and the defeat of Japan, the former colonial masters sought to recover their previous position of leadership, but found the political atmosphere greatly altered. Since the feudalistic native overlords of these lands were unable to exert proper leadership against renewed enslavement by the old foreign masters, the masses, spearheaded by the communist party in their various countries, which has always been at the forefront of the struggle for freedom, everywhere, accepted the challenge and assumed the responsibility of leading out in the cause of deliverance from foreign despotism.

Confronted by this new attitude of their erstwhile colonies the foreign rulers were compelled to alter their outward forms of control and apparently give ground. However, they took advantage of racial and religious prejudices to instill into the minds of the national bourgeoisie a narrow concept of nationalism and reform. In the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Viet Nam, and Burma, they placed the power in the hands of their chosen agents, the reactionary feudalistic landlords, professional politicians, compradores, and national bourgeoisie. In India they took advantage of religious controversy to "divide and conquer." A number of countries while seemingly independent are actually still under the heel of imperialistic rule.

By reason of the postwar weakness of England, Holland, and France, American imperialism has become the chief enemy of the people of Southeast Asia. On the one hand, the United States

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bolstered up the failing colonial administrations, and on the other, rapidly thrust its own power into the various countries.

However, imperialism cannot outlive its historically alloted time. The peoples of all these countries have begun the struggle against it and are getting results. In the youthful Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, under the leadership of President Ho Chih Minh 95 percent of the area of the country has been set free, the French and their puppet Bao Dai hold only a few coastal cities. Their fate is fast overtaking them. In Burma the armed people's partisans have liberated 50,000 square miles of territory. In the philippines the armed partisans have made good headway against the combined might of American imperialism and native reactionism and the movement has permeated nearly all of Luzon Island and has lately been spreading to other islands. Malayan insurgents are operating even in the environs of Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. In India the peasants under the leadership of the communists have created uprisings in many places and in Hyderbad have established a real liberated area.

In Indonesia people's guerrilla forces are still active in Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Celebes. In Thailand and Ceylon there is an underground nationalist liberation movement brewing that may erput at any time.

The success of the liberation in China has had a great effect for world peace and in giving moral support to the liberation movements of the various colonial peoples. Molotoff has stated that the victory of the Chinese Revolution dealt imperialism and its



T. C. P.

aggressive designs a notable blow second only to that of the Russian October Revolution. The Victory of the Chinese liberation movement over American imperialism and its running dog, Chiang Kai-shek, marks the road for all Southeast Asia to follow. The success of the Chinese Revolution and of Mao Tse-tung's ideas provides a keen weapon for all the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Opposed to this, United States imperialism is supporting all the tottering puppet regimes of the area with money and arms. War Criminal Truman has revealed his fear of and desperation concerning people's movements by announcing his support in Indochin a and the Philippines at the same time that he began his Korean aggression. The efforts of colonial peoples themselves in their own righteous cause, as, for instance, the people of Korea, has taught him a lesson. With the support of peace- and liberty-loving people everywhere the people of Southeast Asia will realize their goal of liberation.

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Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

Area : 350,000 square kilometers

Population: 20 million

The minority areas in Indochina outside the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam $\sqrt{D}R\sqrt{J}$ have been aided to self-determination by that republic.

Every year the Red and Mekong river valleys of Viet Nam produce two and even three crops of rice. In Cochinchina bananas second only to those of Malays and Indonesia in quality grow in abundance; salt and fish are produced along the central coastal area; heavy forests, smokeless coal and other minerals are found in the north. However, the toiling masses cannot enjoy these. The French and the feudal lords have exploited them during the last 80 years. Ever since the French took over in 1883 the suffering people have struggled against them and during the Second World War, they intensified their struggle against the double oppression of France and Japan.

In 1941 under the leadership of the Communist Party the Independence League (hereinafter called Viet Minh) was organized and began organizing armed partisans against the Japanese. The movement spread rapidly and soon overran six northern provinces. By 1945 the membership of the Viet Minh was 5 million (13 million at present). At the surrender of the Japanese numerous armed uprisings occurred over the country. Japanese arms were seized, Bao Dai was

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forced to abdicate, and Ho Chi Minh on 2 September as provisional chairman proclaimed the independence of the first People's Democratic Republic of Southeast Asia.

The French immediately took steps with the aid of imperialist Britain to recover their position and, advancing from Cochinchina, declared their intent to recover all Viet Nam within 3 months. However the tide of events was against them. Under the strong leadership of the Viet Minh the people struck fierce blows against them in the field while streamlining their administration within, proclaiming a constitution in the autumn and instituting land reform with redistribution of French and bureaucratic holdings to the landless poor peasants, and took steps to increase agricultural production and avert famine. Industrial production rose under a 3-year plan, culture and education have advanced and illiteracy has been reduced from 85 percent to 20 percent. The agreement of recognition of the Republic of Viet Nam made by France on 6 March 1946 was only a device to gain time for greater operations and soon became obsolete. A general French offensive began on 19 December 1946. Under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and General Vo Nguyen Giap the Vietnamese launched an all-out defensive action. After 3 years of struggle it was apparent that the Viet Minh forces were constantly building up. In fact they had increased to 10-odd times the 20,000 they had at first; from a force capable only of lightning strikes to an overflowing force with hundreds of motor vehicles.

In the sparsely-settled French bases of Cambodia and Laos, where there was little resistance to them 3 years ago, now the two peoples have armed partisan forces and have set up people's govern-

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ments in large areas where they are vitiating French power and imitating Viet Nam in a righteous war of liberation.

Despairing of the success of military action alone, the French in 1949 tried a political tack with American encouragement by recalling the deposed Bao Dai. This was a vain hope for the people were fully determined to support Ho Chi Minh.

America in her role of "the world's savior", having been thrown out of China, turned her attention to Indochina as a base for aggression in Southeast Asia. America demanded that if France, with American aid in arms and money, could not overthrow the Viet Minh she should withdraw and let America take over, but France was unwilling to lose all her men and treasure for nothing. This led to surface conflicts, but basically the two powers were of one mind in opposition to revolution.

In a general advance in October 1950, General Vo Nguyen Giap forces forced the French out of Cao Bang and decimated them as they withdrew. Cao Bang, Dong Khe, That Khe, and Ch'i-ch'i (七 溪), four French strong points, were liberated, and later Na-ling (那岑) Na Cham ②. This was the beginning of the victory called for by Vo Nguyen Giap in honor of Viet Nam's fifth anniversary. At present the Viet Minh forces control 90 percent of the territory and 18 million people of Viet Nam while the French and their stooges hold only a few isolated coastal outposts with only 2 million people. American monetary and arms aid to France and her puppet may temporarily increase the hardships of the Vietnamese but it cannot deliver them from already decreed destruction any more than it could save Chiang in China.

The "filthy war" is dashing the hopes of the French colonialists and arousing the animosity of the French people at home as revealed by anti-war strikes, refusal to load war materials, etc.

Under the encouragement of the historical Chinese revolution the people of Viet Nam are preparing to throw every ounce of their strength and resources into the final great drive for complete freedom from their oppressors. Led by America the international reactionaries hope to make Viet Nam a base for an anti-Soviet, anti-Chinese campaign, but actually everything is against them and their schemes and Viet Nam will soon become the newest youth defense army in the camp of world peace.

Legend of Map of Viet Nam on Page 7

Areas occupied by French forces

Rice

Coal

Tin

Zinc

Rubber

Lumber

Fisheries

Important herbors

Railways

Scale -- kilometers

COMPARATIVE CHARTS OF POPULATIONS AND AREAS OF CHINA AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

ON PAGE 4

(using China as the basic figure of 100)

COUNTRY	<u>AREA</u>	POPULATION
China	100	100
India	31	63
Indonesia	19	14.7
Pakistan	à	14.7
Burma	6	3.6
Thailand	5.1	3.3
Viet Nam	3.5	4.2
Philippines	3	4.1
Malaya	1.4	1.2
Ceylon	0.65	1.3



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THE PHILIPPINES

Area: 297,917 square kilometers

Population: 19,500,000

The economy of the Philippines under the iron hoof of foreign imperialists for 400 years has been entirely oriented toward supplying oppressors' raw material needs rather than their own food needs. Therefore, rice must be imported.

After the Philippines had attained a measure of self-government in 1935 under the Tydings-Metcalfe Act of the US Congress, the Japanese invaded in 1941, MacArthur fled, and the Japanese took over. Under the leadership of the Philippine Communist Party, the People's Anti-Japanese Army (Hukbalahap) was organized on 29 March 1942 under the command of General Luis_7 Taruc. In the course of 1,300 guerrilla engagements with the Japanese, in which 25,000 of the enemy were annihilated, the central plain of Luzon was liberated and the guerrilla forces were built up to about 20,000. These forces were determined not only to oust the Japanese from the islands, but also to keep the Ammricans from returning. They instituted land reform by confiscating the holdings of Japanese puppets and redistributing them to the peasants. They reduced rents and set up democratic self-governments in local areas.

When the Americans returned, the Huks aided them against the Japanese. However, the Americans repudiated these partisans and instituted a campaign of arrests and slaughter against them. Under their aegis, Roxas seized power and carried on the US campa ign against the patriotic armed partisans. Roxas tried in vain every sort of device to induce

the partisans to surrender their arms, but they were too suspicious of him. After August 1946, with the aid of US planes and artillery, Roxas carried on a relentless all-out campaign against the patriots until his violent death in 1948. He recovered the central Luzon plain, but could not annihilate the partisans.

The aim of the US is to use the Philippines as an anti-Soviet, anti-people's base of operations and to support therefrom all reactionary governments of Southeast Asia. US granting of "complete independence" to the Philippines in 1946 was a pure farce and there has been no change in the actual control of the Islands. Under the name of "aid", US goods not needed by the Philippine people have been dumped in the Islands, impeding the development of native industries. Three million unemployed have no means of livelihood. A farmer must work 700 hours to produce or secure one picul of rice. Nothing whatever has been done to elevate the standard of living of the people.

The US-Philippine agreement on military bases of March 1947 leased 23 bases in all parts of the country to the US and the military mutual aid agreement provided for US arms, equipment, ships and training of Philippine forces. The US retreat from the Chinese mainland only led to an easing of control over the Philippines.

After the death of Roxas, his successor Quirino tried a ruse of peaceful gestures to secure control of the patriots, but they did not rise to his bait. He then resumed the policy of extermination, but contrary to expectations, the people rallied to the Hukbalahap forces in growing numbers. In 1949, they adopted the title of People's Liber-



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FISTOLIL

ation Army and became active throughout Luzon.

The topography of Luzon is favorable to guerrilla activities. The People's Liberation Army can find good bases in three different provinces. During 1950, the liberation forces carried on a steady campaign and ringed the whole island, bringing great trepidation to the Americans in their base at Clark Field, the reactionary government in war-devastated Manila, and at the summer capital at Baguio.

The Philippine government called an urgent military conference. The Americans brought in a great quantity of arms and 50 armored cars, determined to make a great effort to retrieve an irretrievable situation. The Liberation Army has now extended its operations to Panay, Negros and other islands. Their forces now number 30,000 and are equipped with modern arms, including mortars and light artillery. The Americans and their rumning dogs are frightened; their end is in sight.

Legend to Map of Philippines on Page 9

Sugar

3

Hemp

00

Tobacco

A second

Rice

III.

Gold

Iron

ment

Railway

74

Chinese territory

(scale - kilometers)

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MALAYA

Area: 140,000 square kilometers

Population: 5,818,434

Malaya (also called the Malay Peninsula) located on the southern reaches of the continent of Asia, bordered by Thailand on the north, separates the Pacific Ocean from the Indian Ocean. The harbor of Singapore, Malaya, is an important center for commercial shipping and an important British Far Eastern military base. It is sometimes called the "Gibraltar of the East".

Malaya's population is composed of three nationalities: overseas Chinese, 44.8 percent; Malayans, 43.3 percent; and Indians, 10.5 percent.

British encroachment on Malaya may be divided into three periods.

The first began in 1786 with the establishment of the branch office of the East India Company in Georgetown, and lasted until 1867. This office monopolized the Malayan market, resisted Dutch and Portugese settlers, and took preliminary steps to strengthen her control over this area. In 1867, three localities - Penang, Malacca and Singapore - were organized into the Straits Settlements of the British Empire. After 1896, the administrative authorities of the four states - Negri Sembilan, Pakang, Perak and Selangor - fell into the hands of British advisers, who organized these states into the Federated Malay States. In 1909, Kedah, Trengganu, Perlis, and Kelantan were taken from Thailand and became British protectorates. Thus, the entire 140,000 square kilometers of Malayan soil became a British colony / It is noteworthy that Johore is not mentioned. /

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The third period began with the increased exploitation of Malaya's richest natural resources: tin and rubber. The Malayan workers were fleeced and made slave laborers for the monopolistic capitalists.

Malaya is the largest producer of tin and rubber in the world. In 1949, the rubber production reached 670,000 tons. This was 40 percent of / total / world output. Total area occupied by Malayan rubber plantations is over 4 million acres, most of which are under British control. British investments in this field of activities total 200 million pounds. Rubber is exported primarily to the US.

In 1949, Malaya produced over 73,000 tons of tin. This is 44 percent of _total_7 world output. England controls two large tin refineries: the Eastern Tin Refinery Company and the Strats Tin Refinery Plant. All Malayan tin ores are brought to these plants to be refined. Tin exports go primarily to the US.

Malaya, the "gold mine" of imperialist England, is an important export artery for the decadant imperialists.

In 1924, the Malayan people established their own political party the Malayan Communist Party. With this, the laboring people began their
determined struggle against the ruling elements. In 1936, about 10
thousand construction, rubber, tin and other factory workers participated in a general labor strike throughout Malaya. Disregarding British
persecutions, the workers fought steadfastly for several months, and
were ultimately victorisous in their stand. This resulted in a higher
working wage. The greatest accomplishment, however, was in the unificat-

ion of Malayan, Chinese and Indian workers. The foundation for the labor movement was laid in this manner.

In 1939, 200,000 workers throughout Malaya went on strike. As a result, they won the right to form labor unions. Although the British imperialists continued incessantly to oppress workers, murder labor leaders, and close down labor unions, they were unable to subdue the laborers.

In December 1941, after the Japanese invaded Malaya, the colonial rulers left in disorderly fashion and the Japanese soon occupied the entire territory. The Malayan Communist Party integrated the Malayan, Chinese and Indian nationalities into the Malayan People's "nti-Japan Army. Using destruction as a strategem, this group waged innumerable guerrilla fire-fights with the enemy and later expanded their ranks into eight independent units, totalling over 10,000 men.

In 1945, when the Japanese surrendered, the "old masters" returned to reestablish their rule. Victory in the anti-Japanese struggle did not result in any of the independence that the Malayan people had gained. On the contrary, the British imperialists, in order to recoup their war losses and to neutralize their economic crisis, adopted a cruel policy of plundering the colony. This made the Malayan workers' livelihood more difficult; while prices soared continuously, wages remained frozen.

Angry over such treatment, the people demanded that colonial rule be consumated and that they be permitted to make decisions independently. In order to appease popular opposition, the British government published a "white paper", and announced the proposal for a so-called New Administ-

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PERTENDED

rative System for January 1946. This new system was only an archaic imperialist method of "divide" and "rule". The people immediately opposed the "white paper". Malayan Communists summoned the various nationalities and parties throughout Malaya to forge a democratic united front in order to struggle for the establishment of a united Malayan home-rule government. The proposal for the new administrative system, therefore, was revised and became final. The proposal stipulates that with the exception of Singapore, which is a "British Crown Colony", the "Federation of Malaya" is to be established. Nominally, the authority was to be placed in the hands of the Malayan people, but actually it was delivered to representatives, feudal leaders, and the British adversers of various States. On 1 February 1948, the British, unmindful of the people's determined opposition, proclaimed the establishment of the Federation of Malaya.

The Malayan Communist Party summoned the people to join in armed struggle. In June 1948, the British promulgated an emergency proclamation which outlawed the Communist Party, the All-Malaya Federation of Labor and various progressive organizations. Thousands of youths were arrested, beaten, dispersed and murdered. In retaliation, armed struggle broke out in various areas.

In 1948, the British colonial armed forces were increased to 50,000 troops, and equipped with latest type weapons for the purpose of suppressing the people's guerrilla forces. British colonists paid a great price and suffered heavy losses.

RESTRIBLE

On 1 February 1949, the Malaya Nationalities Liberation Movement opened a new chapter in the liberation struggle. The Malayan Communists proclaimed the formal establishment of the Malaya Nationalities Isberation Movement. This put all of the People's armed forces in various areas throughout Malaya under one command. Simultaneously, the formation of 9 detachments was announced. The People's armed forces have become stronger and have made several attacks against the enemy. On 26 February 1950, the British colonial authorities proclaimed an "Anti-Bandit Month" with plans to complete "mopping-up" activities during the month. But the program was a complete failure. In the meantime, the Tenth Detachment of the Liberation Army was formed. Imperialists will not give up so easily where an annual income in tin and rubber of 200 million US dollars is involved.

In continuing the struggle which has been going on for the past 20 years under the leadership of the Malayan Communist Party, the Malayan people will one day see their ideal of a "Malayan People's Democratic Republic" come true.

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Legend to Map of Malaya on Page 11

Rubber

T

Tin

A

Lead

=9

Iron

1

Railway

444

(Scale - kilometers)

Inhabitants of Malaya

44.8% Overseas Chinese

43.3% Malayan

10.5% Indians

1.1% others

0.3% Europeans

restricted

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INDONESIA

Area: 1,904,345 square kilometers

Population: 70,000,000

Java, the political and economic heart of Indonesia, supports 70 percent of the population.

Indonesia produces a wariety of strategic raw materials, particularly rubber, tin, oil and iron. It is also a leading producing area for quinine, black pepper, cotton trees, agave, coconuts, and tea.

All of these resources have had a fatal attraction for the bloodsucking imperialists who have used every method to exploit them. This
has resulted in great suffering and loss to the native peoples. Before World War II, Holland and Britain were the greatest offenders,
but now the US, by means of capital, has secured a monopoly of these
resources. American investment has increased since before the war from
5 percent to 50 percent of all foreign investments. Americans have
bought large blocks of the former Netherlands and British Companies'
stocks and the American Fuchs Company has secured a 15-year monopoly
on the tin and iron mines. Over a million mou of rubber plantations
have also fallen into American hands.

Furthermore, in Java, Borneo, the Celebes and New Guinea, American military bases are under construction or planned, and Indonesian skies are full of planes making military surveys.

However, today, the Indonesians have arms of their own and are struggling for their independence and liberation. Many revolts under

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Dutch rule were attempted but always ruthlessly suppressed.

During the Japanese occupation, the Indonesians organized guerrilla forces. Due to lack of arms, however, they lost thousands of fighters. Nevertheless, their spirit was remealed, and on 17 August 1945, the Indonesian Republic was proclaimed. Unfortunately, the new Republic's governing power fell into the hands of capitalists, such as Sukarno, Hatta and Sjahrir (?) who led in the wrong direction. Only a month after the New Republic was proclaimed, the British imperialist troops, under guise of disarming the Japanese, landed and quickly overran many islands using the Japanese against the Republicans. England, forced out by the UN Security Council, turned power over to Indonesia's old enemy, the Dutch. They quickly set up the two puppet states of East Indonesia and Borneo. In order to gain time to gather strength for suppressing the Indonesian revolution, the Dutch started negotiations in the UN with the British delegate as mediator. The capitalistic Indonesian leaders mentioned above were thus entrenched in their positions. The March 1947 agreement appeared to give Holland a breathing spell. The democratic forces had not given up, however, and the people recognized their enemy's true countenance. In December 1948, the Dutch took over most of the territory of the Indonesian Republic and instituted a reign of unmitigated terror against all opponents. Sukarno and Hatta were imprisoned.

The US and Britain hypocritically railroaded a cesse-fire action through the UN Security Council. They were baffled, however, by a

strong guerrilla movement that quickly developed with forces up to 300,000 men, some 35,000 of them political prisoners of Hatta government who were released by the people. A new plan had to be devised by the imperialists which resulted in Hatta's attending the US sponsored round-table conference at the Hague which resulted in selling out Indomesia to the imperialists in the guise of the Indomesia Federated Republic and the Dutch-Indonesian Union.

This Union agreement made the former Indonesian Republic only one of a dozen or more states of Dutch creation. The important decisions in the Un ion would be in the hands of the Dutch crown following three lines illegible 7.

A Dutch ultimatum in May 1947 demanding completed unconditional surrender and dissolution of the Indonesian government was resisted by a new government led by Sjarifuddin and the Dutch attacked on 20 July with 120,000 troops carrying United States and British arms. After two-third of Java and a large part of Sumatra had been taken, the three-power mediation conference was called which resulted in forcing the Indonesians to sign a Dutch proposed cease-fire agreement in January 1948 which left only a small portions of Java and Sumatra to them. Opposition of the reactionaries forced Sjarifuddin out and the Hatta crowd again took over. The imperialists were not satisfied and America gave her agents, Hatta and Sukarno, 65 million US dollars to carry out her hidden plan.



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In the bloody affair at Madioen, several thousand patriots were slaughtered or imprisoned and the leaders of the Communist and Progressive Parties, Sjarifuddin, Musso, Suripno, and Harjono, were executed.

In the agreement accepted by the traitors, American and Nether-lands imperialistic ideas prevailed. The "Netherlands-Indonesian Union" was headed by the Dutch Queen; all foreign affairs or other important affairs were to be handled by the Union, which really meant the Dutch government. Indonesia's economy was still under Dutch control; she was to pay Holland 4,500,000,000 guilders as reimbursement for her investment used to conquer Indonesia; Dutch naval and land forces were to remain in Indonesia; Dutch government organs were to be incorporated into the Indonesian government so that Indonesian executive power would still be in the hands of the colonial administrators.

The Indonesian people were greatly incensed at their betrayal by the Sukarno-Hatta crowd. The Communist Politburo called on the people to mobilize to deliver themselves. People's forces became active in Java, Sumatra, Bormeo, and the Celebes and staged many attacks on their enemies. Strikes in cities and mines emphasized the workers' demands. Peasants took over Dutch plantations and redistributed them. Many plantation guards and puppet officials and men eagerly joined the guerrillas. The Dutch colonials maintained their rule and under direction of the traitor government many tens of thousands of Indonesian citizens were jailed or thrown into concentration camps.

In 1950 the Sukarno-Hatta crowd, in order to further obscure their real designs, discarded the Union title and established the all-Indonesian nationalist monolithic "Indones ian Republic" with the ultra-reactionary

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head of the ${\rm M}_{\rm O}{\rm slem}$ Party, Natsir, as Prime Minister.

Communists and left-wing parties at once announced that the new government was nothing like the August 1945 Republic of Indonesia and was no different from the Indonesian Union of the round table agreement; that the new constitution was full of provisions intended to favor the interests of the capitalists and injure those of the people. Whatever changes of front might be played up, there was no change in the real nature of the government, hence the Communists and theleftwing parties established a solid front to lead the people without cessation in the direction of liberty.



Chart on Page 12

Indonesia Products

(percentage of world production)

Quinine	91%
Pepper	86%
Cotton	72%
Rubber	37%
Agave	33%
Copra	27%
Tea	1%
Tin	17%
Sugar	5%
Oil	3%

Legend to Map of Indonesia on Page 13

Important People's guerrilla activity area

P

Pepper

A

Cotton

聚果

Sugar

â

Tea

OP

Oil Tin

D D

<u>م</u>

Rubbe \mathbf{r}_{σ}

Nickel Quinine

2

(Scale - kilometers)

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BURMA

Area: 604,700 square kilometers

Population: 17,000,000

Burma has been one of the British imperialist most important colonies for the pst 60 years. Surrounded by China, India, Viet Nam and Thailand, Burma is important economically and militarily.

The phrase, "Asia's rice bowl", describes Burma's larger rice production. Burma is one of the world's biggest rice exporters. Prior to the war (WW II), the annual export of rice reached 3,500,000 tons. Several millions of people in India, Ceylon and Malaya depend on this rice. Besides rice, Burma also produces cotton, rubber, lumber, peanuts, etc. Most important of her minerals are petroleum, tungsten, lead, zinc, and tin. Petroleum is being produced in Singu and Yenangyaung. At the latter location, an oil pipe line, 460 kilometers in length, has been laid so that oil can be delivered directly to Rangoon for refining. Yenangyaung's tin output of 5,000 tons annually is the second largest in the world.

During several decades of colonial rule, the entire economic strength and treasury of Burma lay in the monopolistic hands of England and India. About four-fifth of the farm land is in the hands of the Indian landlords.

Under the monopolistic-capitalistic rule of the imperialists,

l. Burma Oil Company (B.O.C) which controls a large partion of the oil fields, employs 45,000 workers and is influencial both politi-



cally and economically.

2. Steel Brothers and Company controls the root of Burmese econo-

my, in other words, the rice market.

3. Bombay-Burma Trading Company controls the Timber Industry.

Burmage 4.8. Burma Corporation, Ltd., controls the various rich Burmese mines: tin, lead, zinc, and tungsten,

5. %. Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, Ltd., controls the lifeline of Burma, that is, navigation on almost 1,000 miles of the Irmawaddy River.

Burma, in the exes of the great British imperialist nation, is an inexhaustible source of wealth; therefore, the British will not readily give up their hold on this nation. But today, as these people under colonial rule are awakened, they are seeking freedom and are struggling for liberation. Several decades of imperialistic control over Burma will quickly disintegrate.

British imperialist penetration of Burma began as early as the dawn of the 19th century. By 1886, Burma lost her independence and was P Under British oppression, Burmese nationalism was nutured. joined with India. Being nationalistic minded and influenced by the The October Socialist Revolution, the Burmese continuously expanded the And the streetle against impresalism continued for nationalistic independence movement for about 20 years.

over 20 years. In 1942, the fascist Japanese occupied Burma under the guise of liberators to deceive the Burmese. In 1942, an independence was established with Ba Maw as head. Under such a regime, the people gained nothing and their oppression had not been lessened. Therefore, under the leadership of the Burmese Communist Party, the Burmese people instigated an armed struggle to oppose the new rule and organized a united

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front: the "anti-Fascist People's Freedom Alliance" with the ultimate purpose of forming a genuinely independent nation. In March 1945, in response to an allied forces counter-attack, the entire nation revolted. In concert with the rebellion of the puppet "nationalist army" under the leadership of Aung San, Rangoon was soon liberated and the Japanese militarists were soon pushed out of Burma.

After the surrender of Japan, British imperialists planned to control Burma again, but because the Burmese people's forces were so strong and the people so determined in their demands of independence, Burma became a self-governed nation but with only a portion of the control returned to the Burmese people. This was not in accord with the hopes of the suffering and struggling Burmese people. But theleader of the Freedom League, Aung San, compromised with the capitalistic right-wing elements, who were being used by England, and formed a provisional government. At the same time, a split occufred within the one faction under Soe, Burmese Communist Party; Thakin Saw became the leader of one faction and went into Arakan to organize the peasants. While another under the Red Flag Communists organized the peasants.

The other, and larger faction under Thakin Than Tung Arakan. Thakin Than Tung and International and ist Party members and who remain with the Freedom League continued to oppose the British.

The independence movement gained momentum. By the end of 1946, the British government invited Burmese representatives to go to London to discuss the problem of independence for Burma. Aung San and the right-wing elements of the Freedom League attended the conference and

signed the "British-Burmese Pact" against the better interests of the pace.

This around funce appears on the part the reactionary wissaw who sectional to the British, (took advantage of the people's dissatisfaction and office to oppose Aung San in order to gain political power. The latter returned to the nationality unitedfront line under the Burmese Communist struggle. He again cooperated with the Communist Party and other progressed ive elements for the purpose of gaining true independence. British imperialists and U Saw of the reactionary group became frightened and on 19 July 1947 instigated a coup d'etat which resulted in the killing of six leaders including Aung San, Thakin Nu, a right-wing leader of the Freedom League, took the opportunity to win leadership of the Freedom League and filled the position Aung San left vacant. Under these circumstances, Burmese Communists withdrew from the Freedom League.

Since then, the people lost faith in this organization.

On 4 January 1948, Great Britain recognized the "absolute independence" of Burma. Nominally, it had severed ties with Great Britain but actually the political power was only transferred to her representative Thakin Nu.

In pursuance of a true independent liberation, the Burmese people rallied round the Burmese Communists. On March 1948 under the antiThakin Nu government banner, a general labor strike was held in Rangoon.
Thakin Nu immediately ordered the arrests of Communist Party members and leaders of the progressive organizations. After 21 March, a general armed conflict broke out. At the beginning under the leadership of

Burmese Communists, the guerrillas held the upper hand and controlled a which included the railward and adjacent areas between large guerrilla area which included Yamethin and Pyinmana, (the center of the area on both sides of the railway), the area east of Toungoo to Pegu, the Bassein and Pyapon area of the Irrawaddy River delta, and the Arakan area. They were able to cut the important communication lines

and to become a direct threat to Rangoon.

In September 1938, in order to shift the aims of the people's struggle, the British imperialists instigated a rebellion of Karen National Defense Organization (KNDO)

Self-defense Force against the Thakin Nu government. The White Volunteers of the Government Army and a portion of the National Defense Force also rebelled against Thakin's government and occupied all the cities between Tharrawaddy and Prome along the Rangoon-Prome railroad. Students, laborers, and civil workers of Rangoon participated in a strike.

All this was advantageous to the forces of the revolution. Burmese Communists immediately proclaimed a 16-point program. The White Volunteers and the National Defense Force which instigated the rebellion organized the laborers, peasants and small capitalists into the People's Democratic Front, which was formally established at Prome on 24 March 1949. This was the turning point of the liberation movement.

In September 1949, the people's armed forces began their attacks against areas held by the Karen Self-defense Force and areas controlled by the government. This continued to March of this year 1950 and resulted in the expansion of the liberated areas as follows: the area east of Pegu and Toungoo, the pateau of west Burma, and Arakan. With the

exception of a few cities within these areas, some 50,000 square miles of almost contiguous territory came under the control of the people's armed forces. There were also many guerrilla areas, such as the Irrawaddy River delta, the Burma-India border area, both sides of the Mandalay-Northwest Railway, and the area around Tavoy in Tenasserim.

The Karen revolt under the sponsorship of the British imperialists was not successful. Contrary to expectation, the power of the Thakin Therefore British

Nu government in many areas was greatly weakened. This the policy

was changed to the seeking of solution for a peaceful settlement between the Thakin Nu government and the Karen Solf defense Eorce in order to work against the revolutionary forces. At the Colombo Conference, a

6 million-pound economic and military aid loan was promised.

The people's democratic front under the leadership of the Burmese Communists took steps to unify themselves against the schemes of the imperialists and the reactionaries. On 13 March 1950, the people's democratic front held a delegates' conference at Prome in which they resolved 1) to organize their armed forces into a united army, 2) to continue with the division of land in 1950, 3) to assign the execution of the Central People's government authority to the delegates of the People's Front prior to the proclamation of the establishment of the People's Democratic government, 4) to elect Thakin Than Tun, Burmese Communist leader, to be chairman, Central Committee, People's Democratic Front, and 5) to select a symbol or flag.



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Under the guidance of the Burmese Communist Party, the People's Democratic Front with the support of the united masses will have sufficient strength to overcome difficulties and to smash the imperialist schemes.



FERRORE

Legend to Map of Burma on Page 15

Liberated areas	
Guerrilla areas	
Rice	
Rubber	
Lumber	*
Important harbor	£
Oil	
Lead	
Tungsten	
Tin	Ø
Railroad	444
Oil pipe line	\sim

(Scale - in kilometers)

Arrow located in black box indicates: Unsettled Sino-Burmese border

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THAILAND

Area: 513,000 square kilômeters

Population: 15,000,000

Thailand, occupying the central portion of the peninsula south of China, is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial nation. Geographically, economically, and historically, she is very closely related to China, the overseas Chinese population being estimated at 5 millions or about one-third of the total population.

Before World War I, Thailand enjoyed nominal independence because she was ideally located between French and British territories and acted as a buffer. In reality, having been forced to sign many unequal treaties, she lost a great deal of her independence.

The main reason for imperialistic lust toward Thailand stems from their desire to grap Thailand's rice, rubber, makegany and tin. Excluding mountainous region in the northwest, almost all of Thailand has fertile fields, a warm climate and plentiful rainfall. Over 80 percent of the entire population are engaged in agricultural activities. But under the feudalistic oppressive system, the landlords reaped the wealth while the farmers remained very poor.

Thailand produces great quantities of rice. In 1948, the total output was 91,500,000 piculs. "Siam rice" is well renowned in the world market, especially in the rice-consuming Asiatic countries which depend on Thailand for rice.

Most of the rubber is grown in the southern region. In 1948, 95,000 tons were exported, of which 80 percent went to the United States.

Teak, which is used in the construction of buildings, boats and furniture is also a special product of Thailand and is found in the north-west mountainous areas. In 1948, 55,000 cubic meters were produced.

The majority of the teak firms are operated by foreign capital.

Tin is plentiful and is found mainly in the southern region, especially from Chumphon to the border of Malaya. Before the War, some 20,000 tons were exported. Many of the mines were destroyed by the Japanese armies. Thereafter the tin production dropped and in 1948, only 10,000 tons were exported.

Before World War II, the export of rice, rubber, tin and teak was controlled by British imperialists; but after World War II, the American monopolistic capitalists infiltrated various important economic activities in Thailand.

Under the yoke of foreign imperialism and its own reactionary administration, Thailand has not had a day of peace in several decades.

In 1932, the revol ution against the capitalists led by Pridi
Phanomyong was successful in overthrowing the historical feudalisticautocratic system and in establishing a liberal limited monarchy. But
soon after the political fower fell into the hands of a militarist,
Luang Phibun Songkhram, Thailand became a fascist nation. On the
eve of World War II, Phibun followed Japanese imperialism and became
a promoter of the "East Asia New Program" and changed the name of the
country from Siam to Thailand and vigorously called for closer ties



between Thailand and Japan. After the outbreak of the Pacific war, he permitted the Japanese forces to occupy Thailand and declared war against Great Britain and the United States.

Filled with mad ambition, Phibun worked toward a "Greater Thailand", began to encroach on its neighboring country, Viet Nam, enforced dictatorship, and invoked the mad anti-Chinese policy.

After the surrender of the Japanese, Thailand was not dealt as an enemy nation through US and British arrangements. To the contrary, Thailand was accepted as a member of the United Nations. Phibun and other war criminals did not receive just punishments; in fact, they were released. Thailand's name was again changed to Siam.

Both Great Britain and the US fought for their own benefit. The British, hoping to occupy this nation by herself, submitted the twenty—one demands to the Thailand government but the US objected vehemently. Thus, the British were forced to retract and revise the demands to a sixteen-point "peace agreement", which permitted the British government to retain all of her pre-war interests. The US also secured a great deal of special benefits.

Since World War II, premiers have been changed eight times, a king was assassinated, and many revolts have been perpetrated. After the revolution in November 1947, US supported the notorious Phibun Songkhram as head of the Fascist state and the US position was strengthened.

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On 20 July 1948, the name of the nation was again changed to Thailand.

US monopolistic capitalists have acquired control over the mines and hydroelectric power, and have established a large US\$500,000,000 bank in Bangkok.

In December 1949, Phibun signed an agreement with England for the purpose of suppressing the people's guerrillas on the Malayan and Burmese borders. Under US direction, a similar pact was signed with the puppet Viet Nam leader Bao Dai. At the same time Chiang Kai-shek was consulting with Quirino regarding the formation of a Pacific Alliance, Phibun was talking about the Southeast Asia Alliance. He supported the idea that Southeast Asian problems, such as defense, should be discussed with interested parties, such as Great Britain, US, France, and the Netherlands. He also indicated that British and US forces would be welcomed to enter Thailand to cooperate in the suppression of Communists.

Phibun's fascist attitude is most evident in his anti-Chinese position. He has taken away the cultural and educational freedom of the overseas Chinese by closing down several hundred schools run by the Chinese in Thailand as well as Chinese language newspapers. Chinese businessmen have been oppressed through unreasonable regulations. Under other fascist regulations, overseas Chinese are now subject to deportation if they are suspected of being Communist followers. On 26 January 1950, the Foreign Ministry of the Central People's government of China sent a note protesting the discriminatory actions being directed against the overseas Chinese.

Under constant imperialistic oppression and control, the people's strength will become stronger. Foremost of those who are bearing the burden of opposing the oppressors are the Thailand's laborers. The first labor union was organized during the Japanese occupation and it wasinstrumental in leading the workers to carry out strikes, work slowdowns, destruction of equipment and opposing fascist government. After the war, in seeking democratic freedom, the laborers expanded their strike movement. In May 1947, the Central Labor Union was formed with a membership of 43,000. Reactionary elements organized a spy-controlled Yellow Labor Union in the hope of splitting the labor movement. This had an opposite effect. People joined "their own" labor organization.

Thailand Communist Party has been forced to go underground. Unafraid of reactionary elements, it has continued to lead the laborers in their struggle.

In the mighty upsurge of the liberation movments of Fastern peoples, even in the current rise of the universal political awareness of the people of Thailand, the fascist political power of these imperialist devils has been built upon sand. In the near future, it will surely be smashed under the mighty rise of the people's power.

Latheten

Legend to Map of Thailand on page 17

Rice

Teak

Rubber trees

TE

Tin

Railroad

44.3

(scale - in kilometers)

RESTRIGIEU

India and Pakistan

Area

India : 3,100,000 square kilometers

Pakistan: 900,000 square kilometers

Population

India : 300,000,000

Pakistan: 70,000,000

With the exception of our China, throughout the East, India stands as the country with the longest cultural history. Due to geographical proximity (having common borders with our Tibetan plateau) and to more than 1,000 years of cultural interchange, the fraternal friendship and common interest existing between the people of China and the people of India is indeed great. Compared to that of our people, the people of India have endured a most lamentable and wicked fate under the oppressive 3-century-old reign of British imperialism, appearing in the past as a brilliant gem in the imperial crown of England.

Early in the year 1600, the East India Company -- that tool of colonial usurpation -- opened offices in India and backed her quasi-commercial activity with the long rifles of the Royal Navy. Thereafter, the economy and government of India gradually succumbed to this constricting apparatus of aggression and with the advent of the 19th Century, the entire land had slipped into the quagmire of British colonialism.

The English imperialism which pressed down upon the Indian people a yoke of slavery, profiteering, and despotism forced large

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numbers of people living within a 10- or 20-mile radius of the staff flying the first union jack in the Far East to flee en masse. The ever-present famines in the area took the lives of 10 million Indians.

In 1857, the Indian people arose for the first time in all their righteousness, seized Delhi, slew the Englishman on all sides, and shook the throne of this omnipotent and despotic ruler. But the opposition of feudal lords tore the strands of revolutionary might to tatters.

In 1830, the Indian National Congress Party, the first political party tolerated by the English imperialist authorities, arose as an alliance of Indian capitalists and enlightened landlords with Englisheducated Indian intellectuals. They desired merely to realize a greater proportion of native Indian representation in the British governing apparatus and expounded the theory of "gradualistic independence." This thesis of national reformation was widely disseminated among the backward and downtrodden masses.

Hinduism and Islam are the two major religious systems of India: 276 million of the former (69 percent of the total population) and over 90 million of the latter (23 percent of the total population). The English rulers aggravated religious differences and employed the resulting heterogeneity to foment disorder and widen schisms so that in smashing the group solidarity of and weakening the might inherent in the two spiritual systems, they consolidated the ruling ranks of their administration. The frequent bloodlettings were an outgrowth of this circumstance.

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PER STATE

In 1905, after the Indian National Congress Party opposed the struggle of the masses for partition of Bengal, the British were godfather to the birth of the Islamic political party — the All India Moslem League. It was organized by the large landholders and the big capitalists as a counterpoise for the Indian National Congress Party.

After World War I (from 1919 to 1922), the people of India, under the spell of the mighty October Revolution in Russia, inaugurated an unprecedented national self-determination movement and, in 1920, established the All-India Trade Union Congress. The activity of the proletariat became positivist in substance during the struggle against imperialist oppression and colonial profiteering.

In the nationalistic movement, Congress Party leadership, representing Indial capitalist interests, was basically neither sound nor resolute, at times progressing but then taking to the "road" of compromise which led as far as collusion with the British imperialists in dealing with Indian peasants and workers. In 1922, the faction which recognized Gandhi as their leader espoused "the doctrine of non-violence" — that is, they opposed arming the masses in the coming struggle for national liberation and independence. The effect of this dogma was detrimental to the goals sought by the nationalistic movement.

With the start of 1930, the national liberation movement in India reached a new high watermark when the militant campaign of the workers and peasants opened in a great flurry. By the end of 1933, the Communist Party of India was formally established.

RESTRICTION

Since the establishment of the Communist Party the laboring class has taken a leading part in the fight against imperialism.

Under the influence of labor and the communists the peasants gradually realized that in order to escape the threat of starvation they must associate themselves with the national independence movement and this they began to do. Under the guidance of the revolutionary "Peasants! Organization" they began the anti-landlord struggle.

During the second World War the people's pressure for independence was so strong that the British promised postwar dominion status, but this did not satisfy. During the war both heavy and light industry showed rapid development and by 1945 the labor union membership had reached over one million.

Postwar India was like a rumbling volcano. Strikes in Bombay, Calcutta, and Delhi with bloody parades, mutiny in the navy, and attack by farmers on landlords and usurers were all signs of the fiery eruption impending. In the face of this popular pressure England, impotent after the war, to employ oppressive military measures was forced to reconsider the situation.

Under the Mountbatten plan of dividing the country into two mutually antagonistic countries Hindustan (now called the Indian Union) and Pakistan, England hoped to retain her control. Since this arrangement was accepted by the traditionally anti-masses All India National Congress Party and the All India Moslem League made up of landlords and capitalists, it is evident that these parties were in the imperialist camp. The two powers, called independent, but actually dominions of the British Commonwealth, came

into political being 15 August 1947. Under the arrangement made at the time the more than 500 native states occupying 45 percent of the territory of India were permitted to join either India or Pakistan or remain "independent" which latter meant remaining under the hegemony of Britain. The division of the country immediately resulted in great destruction of the masses by reason of the intensifying of the Hindu-Moslem religious feud. Countless thousands were slaughtered. Kashmir also became a bone of contention almost leading to war.

Since gaining dominion status the two countries are still, economically, politically, and militarily, under British capitalists' control. More than half the jute mills and tea factories, and a great portion of the foreign trade are in British hands. Government offices, the police, and the military in both countries are run by Britishers; even a large number of the provincial governors are British.

In India with excellent natural agricultural conditions and where 87 percent of the population are agriculturists, famines sweeping away hundreds of thousands are frequent. The reason for these shocking conditions is that under British imperialist rule more than two thirds of the agricultural land was in the hands of British and Indian landlords with a vast brood of human parasites in between them and the masses.

India's industrial plant, as colonies go, can be considered among the most advanced, but light industries such as cotton and jute textiles and food products are the most developed. Heavy industry is still

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comparatively undeveloped, especially the machinery industry, revealing the colonial nature of the economy, furthermore the controlling interest in most of the industries is British and American.

The division of the country has greatly hindered economic development. Ninety percent of the industry is in food-, cotton-, and jute-poor India whereas the areas producing most of these things are in Pakistan which produces much agricultural raw material but has almost no industry. She needs 1,340,000 tons of coal a year, but can produce only 300,000 tons of low-quality coal. The British planned things this way, making the two countries both insufficient economically in order to retain their control. Since the war American monopolistic capital has rapidly penetrated India, especially since Nehru smoothed the way by proclaiming an open welcome to foreign capital.

The unparalleled postwar anti-imerialist movement of the Indian people has been due entirely to the leadership of the laboring classes with the Communist Party as its core. The manifesto of the Indian Communist Party, issued at its second great congress which met at the close of February 1948 was the answer to the longings of the whole Indian people. It included demands for:

- l. Severing all ties with the British-American imperialist camp and achieving real independence in close economic, political, and cultural collaboration with the real democracies, first of all with the Soviet Union.
- 2. Abolition of all forms of landlordism without compensation and distribution of land to the tillers of the soil.

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- 3. Real democratic government; self-determination, and formation of a democratic people's republic after elimination of the feudalistic native governments.
- 4. Nationalization of basic industries, confiscation of foreign interests, especially British enterprises, and drastic revision of labor conditions.

The congress also called for a united democratic front of labor, peasantry, and petty city bourgeoisie in both dominions under the leadership of labor in order to achieve complete independence and true democracy.

Owing to advancing prices and the crazy exploitation of workers by British and American monopoly capital, living conditions of the Laboring classes are continually deteriorating and the ranks of the unemployed rapidly increasing. Under these conditions both political and economic strikes of vast proportions have occurred. In India in 1948 there were 1,634 strikes involving more than 13 million workers. Arrests, beatings, killings, and fascist threats are all insufficient to cover the wrath of the resisting workers. Since 1949 these conditions have been greatly augmented. Standing shoulder to shoulder with the workers are the millions of luckless peasants who are ever more vociferously demanding the abolition of landlordism without compensation.

The peasants of Hyderabad were the first to conduct an armed revolt. The result was the overthrowing of the power of the despotic princes and landlords in one sixth of the area, liberation of 2,500 villages, distribution of more than 100,000 acres of land to the landless and near landless, the establishment of the people's

political power and an organized armed force in an area of 24,000 square kilometers. In September 1948 the Indian government sent a military force into Hyderabad to suppress this movement, but without result; in fact, the people expanded their holdings in other areas. During the first half of 1949 there were 2,057 popular uprisings in Uttar Pradesh. In Madras and Travancore people's armed partisans have stepped up their activities, and on the Nepal border in the north "rebellious" peasants have openly resisted the oppression of the police and have shaken the authority of those who are tied in with imperialism.

Following their disgraceful eviction from the Chinese mainland the Americans have been endeavoring to enlist Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan (Pakistan Premier) to take the place of Chiang Kai-shek in their plans, and Nehru is desirous of going along with them. His intervention in Tibet in July 1949 is good evidence of his true running dog position.

The new Indian Constitution and Declaration of Independence of 26 January 1950, proclaimed under the auspices of Britain, has been dubbed by the Indian communists as a "slave constitution". It preserves the power of exploitation of foreign imperialist interests and increases the oppression of the Indian minorities. It denies all rights of labor, refuses land reform to the peasants and supports all the old powers of the feudalistic parasites. Hence this "independence" arouses no interest on the part of the Indian people. In the great peace parade of the Indian masses in Calcutta, November 1949, the influence of the Chinese people's victory was revealed

RESTRIBILE

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by the cries of "Long live the People's Republic of China" and "Long live Chairman Mao."

In 1950 the Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party eschewed the ideas of both the conservative and leftist elements within the Party and declared the road followed by the Chinese revolution to be the only road to success for the people's movement of all Southeast Asia.

Lenin said that the result of the capitalist-communist struggle would be decided in Russia, China, and India. Today Russia and China have achieved the blessings of freedom, independence, and have destroyed capitalism. The Indian masses have also set their faces in the same direction. As the great poet Byron said, "Look to the East; the black men of the Ganges will ultimately shake the foundations of your oppressive empire."

Listrates

Legend to Map of India on Page 19

Peasant armed-revolt area

Manganese

Rubber trees

Cotton

Railroad

Coal

Industrial area

Tea

Hemp

Harbor

(scale - in kilometers)

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CEYLON

Area: 65,500 square kilometers
Population: 6,500,000

Ceylon is an island separated from India by the 35-kilometer wide Palk Strait. It is about twice the size of Taiwan. Four hundred millions of its people are native Sinhalese with a 2,000-year cultural history. The balance are Indian laborers (1 million), Tamils, and Malayans. Ceylon has been a dominion of the British Commonwealth since 1948. Ceylon lost her independence to foreigners some 450 mears ago. Portugese and Dutch adventurers were never able to completely conquer the island; this the British did at the beginning of the 195h century.

Ceylon under foreign rule has been primarily agricultural. The chief products are tea, rubber, coffee, cocoa, and cocoanuts. It also produces graphite and precious stones. All the above products are largely exported and the island has to import two-thirds of its principal food, rice. This is entirely due to a policy of foreign exploitation. Practically all Ceylon's production, commerce and finance are controlled by British concerns. The masses live under sub-level subsistence conditions. Workers can only earn enough for one person's subsistence. Ninety percent of the pesants are landless. Eighty percent of the tea and rubber plantation workers are imported labor with no civil rights and constantly under threat of deportation. The skilled workers and dock workers of the cities suffer from like disabilities.

Many defeats in attempts at securing self-government have given

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the Sinhalese considerable experience. The first labor association was established in 1940. In 1947 government and industrial workers struck for basic national liberty, labor rights, guaranteed employment, old age pensions and living wages. This move, after a month's herioic struggle against police and British naval forces, failed.

In 1948 nearly 6,000 workers discharged from military organs were impressed and sent to Malaya to fight the Malayan patriotic guerrilla forces. Thrice they mutinied and fraternized with the guerrillas.

At present there are 300,000 jobless and a still larger number of only partially employed workers in Ceylon.

Though Ceylon nominally has dominion status, the reactionary foreign capitalists and native feudalistic landlords are in complete control of the island and are administering the island in their own behalf. The Ceylon constitution was written by the British Parliament. The British have many naval, army, and air bases in Ceylon with unlimited tenure. These they employ as power points from which to combat democratic people's movements throughout Asia.

The people of Ceylon are fighting for true independence and an abundant life. Under the leadership of the Ceylon Communist Party, the labor union association of Ceylon has united the labor class to struggle not only of the masses against imperialism. At the fourth meeting of delegates of the Communist Party at Matale in August 1950, front classes a call was issued for a united anti-imperialist front of all classes under the labor class leadership to defeat imperialism and establish national independence. The assembly called for:

Walle .

- 1. Complete separation from Britain.
- 2. Nationalization of all imperialist holdings and representative organs.
 - 3. Immediate land reform.
 - 4. Guarantees of minimum standard of living for labor.
- 5. Guarantees of cultural privileges for all minority races and all other depressed classes and their economic development.

At the Asia-Australasian Labor Federation meeting / at Peiping / the secretary-general of the Ceylon Communist Party (and chairman of the Ceylon Labor Federation) Dr. S. A. Wickermasinghe manifesting great faith in the future, declared "Today China, tomorrow Ceylon". Although the Ceylon liberation struggle is still in its infancy, it is bound to achieve a victory similar to that of the Chinese.

Legend to Map of Ceylon on Page 21

Black tea

Coffee
Rubber
Graphite
Harbor
(scale - in kilometers)

TESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

AUTHOR'S POSTSCRIPT

Southeast Asia is a focal point in the kalaidescopic changes that have followed World War II.

Because of territorial, political and cultural propinquity,

China has an intense interest in all the struggles and changes now

occurring in Southeast Asia.

This book has been written to provide information to industrial, agricultural, and military cadres; junior and senior high school students; and new mtudents of international affairs. The objective in writing has been clarity, hence in addition to facts and maps, a few personal opinions and charts have been included. It can be used as an introductory popular international atlas. If time permits, the author hopes to add further volumes. He solicits the advice of comrades on the type of material most needed and what progressive alterations should be made to make the project most useful to the readers. In future editions, changes appearing in Southeast Asia after October 1950 will be included.

Corrections are solicited.

Acknowledgements are made to chiung-him (本中華)

and Chien Yuan (萨原) for assistance, advice and corrections during preparation.

The author,

Shanghai, 16 October 1950

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